Around the U. S. A.—*A New Feature*

THE *Nation*

October 20, 1951

LONDON CALLING

The British Elections

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

*

Quebec's Bitter Brew

Not for the Royal Taste

BY HENRY MONTCALM

*

And Now Stassen

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

The Lobby in America

BY H. H. WILSON

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Squirrel Cage

Muncie, Ind., October 5

JUDGE WILLIAM E. STECKLER of the Federal District Court for Southern Indiana has just sentenced Amos Brokaw of Muncie to two years' imprisonment in a repeat prosecution for violation of the draft act. Brokaw's defense was the prohibition of double jeopardy in the Fifth Amendment.

Brokaw was classified under the 1940 draft act as a conscientious objector and spent eighteen months in Civilian Public Service as a laborer and as a guinea pig in pneumonia experiments. Convinced that the army was using conscript labor for civilian work not of national importance, he walked out of C. P. S. and into prison. After serving a six months' sentence he was set free, got a job, and entered college.

Upon enactment of the 1948 draft law Brokaw failed to register and for his defiance paid a $100 fine and spent four months in Mill Point prison camp. On his release he was registered by prison officials and classified by his local board as 1-A. Even if the 1948 act had provided for alternative service, Brokaw would not have signed for non-combatant duty. He condemns stretcher-bearers as strongly as Tolstoy did, but for different reasons. To Tolstoy they were vain men, seeking social approval; to Brokaw they are necessary cogs in the military machine.

When the 1948 law was extended in 1950, the local board, of which Brokaw's college dean is chairman, was again at his heels. By this time he had a wife and children whose dependency might have prevented his call to active duty. But he still refused to serve, and his arrest followed.

For his third trial the defendant waived a jury. Judge Steckler was calm, curious, patient—in complete contrast to the fiery pinwheel of New York's Southern District, Judge Sylvester Ryan, who in 1950 sentenced Alfred Bergdoll to a five-year term.

It is easy for the individual absolutist to cut a ridiculous figure, as Bernard Shaw has demonstrated. But Shaw's old revolutionary was the perfect Trotskyite: he was left of left on every possible issue, not as in this case on a single paramount question. Brokaw looked no sillier in court that John Brown of Ossawattomie. Claiming no creed or church affiliation, he merely insisted that war was as impractical between nations as between members of a family. Implicit in his statement was the conclusion that the citizen must compel his government to operate without a war machine by withdrawing the only strategic material he controls—himself.

Brokaw tried in vain to convey to the court the difference between passive resistance or non-resistance and the Gandhian political tactic of coercion without violence. If he had made his religious training or beliefs his excuse he would have fared no better. In the same court on the same day Stephen Simon, a Maryland Quaker, was tried a second time for defying the draft act on strictly religious grounds and drew the same sentence—two years.

AS EXPECTED, Judge Steckler gave short shrift to the double-jeopardy claim, choosing to regard the offenses just as he would a succession of traffic violations by a driver. Distressed by the sincerity of the two pacifists before him, he offered both a chance to "take advantage" of C. O. status, to cooperate with the military system and go straight. But neither had come so far to bargain for escape.

The judge was properly concerned that his decision should not encourage other men to resist conscription, which, of course, was the purpose of the defendants. After he had dwelt upon his duty to consider the effect of his decision upon *society*, which he seemed to identify as Congress, he permitted Brokaw to say, "While I realize I am incurring the wrath of society as represented by the United States government, I feel that for the totality of society the course I am pursuing is the best."

There is a wealth of precedent to support Judge Steckler's decision. Five-year sentences for defiance of conscription, whether on a first or repeat prosecution, are not unknown in the United States, although the average prison term for abjuring violence is rather less than that for planning to advocate it. Only after wide protest was the second term of Robert Mitchener, a Kansas Quaker, reduced from ten years to five by Judge Delmas Hill.

A MORE severe sentence for Brokaw might have been expected after the Indianapolis *Star's* front-page "exposure" of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Prohibition Party's youth group, with both of which Brokaw was affiliated. The *Star* had accused the draft-defiers of conspiring to overthrow the United States by non-violence, and even attacked the inveterate anti-Communist A. J. Muste, for his un-American activity of refusing to pay war taxes. The Prohibitionists, dismayed to learn of their guilt by association, had read the youth group out of the party. The *Star* takes small comfort from the standard assertion that Gandhian methods will work only in a land of mysticism and intends to make sure its public is so hag-ridden by anti-communism that no one will dare experiment with new-fangled stuff from the Bhagavad Gita.

Two weeks after these newspaper "revelations" another member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Richard Talbert of Sheridan, was arrested and indicted in Indianapolis. Talbert, an ex-G. I. who had been refused C. O. status, not only was not carrying a draft card but had put into writing for his draft board a coldly critical opinion of the Truman Administration's foreign policy. He was released on $1,000 bail to return to his work with the American Friends Service Committee.

The record for cat-and-mouse action is still held by England, where one obstinate pacifist, George Elphick by name, has been prosecuted nine times for non-cooperation. While our 1951 draft law releases all conscripts, including C. O.'s, after twenty-six months' service, no limits are fixed by statute or precedent to the number of prosecutions a draft-defier may face. He will be a hopeless recidivist till his twenty-seventh year unless the Fifth Amendment gets a shot in the arm.

Meanwhile the professional veterans, lawyers, and over-age militarists who make up our draft boards should consider whether their persistent effort to force believers in non-resistance into uniform may not be alienating enough people to become in time quite self-defeating.

ELIZABETH TOOHY

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

IN THIS SEASON OF INVESTIGATIONS WE would like to propose an investigation of Senator McCarran's investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Consider, for example, the matter of the Budenz testimony. Joseph Alsop, with first-hand knowledge of the facts, directly contradicts Budenz on a vital point in three articles which are now part of the *Congressional Record*. Henry Wallace then confirms Alsop. Wallace is finally given a chance to testify but at an executive session of the committee and only after a stern warning that no statements were to be released to the press. Alsop, who is the key witness, is not called, although he has publicly invited a subpoena. In the meantime, however, the witness Budenz is recalled, with great fanfare, and repeats his former testimony, without substantial modification, at a public hearing. It is now asserted that long before his first appearance as a witness before the McCarran committee, Budenz had been shown correspondence between Mr. Wallace and Alfred Kohlberg of the China lobby which congratulated Wallace on his support for the Nationalists in China. If this is true, then the later testimony of Budenz cannot be dismissed as being merely a false "interpretation" of past events; it was false in fact. Arthur Krock, who can hardly be accused of being "soft" toward communism, gave an admirable summary of the weird witch-hunt being conducted by McCarran in the New York *Times* of October 11. "Mr. McCarran gave assurances," he points out, "that the reputations of all concerned would be protected. . . . But at this writing the subcommittee has opened the record to numerous personal attacks on individuals, largely by Mr. Budenz. And it has not yet begun the balancing process, although the publicity already given to his charges makes that process overdue, which would be served by prompt public testimony from Mr. Wallace and Mr. Alsop. On the subcommittee are Senators who vehemently agreed with Senator Lodge when he asserted that the 1950 McCarthy inquiry by the Tydings group was 'superficial, inconclusive,' often lacking 'impartiality,' 'a tangle of loose threads of witnesses who were not subpoenaed, of leads which were not followed up.' Yet some of these Senators seem to be moving in the same direction."

WE SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO SUPPLEMENT Willard Shelton's report in this issue (page 321) on Harold Stassen's participation in the hearings of the McCarran committee. Careless with the truth, Stassen has also demonstrated a willingness to injure others, for no apparent purpose, which will not add to his moral stature. His references to Andrew Roth and Lawrence Rosinger as "Communist propagandists" were false, but even if true they would not have added an iota of plausibility to his argument that the State Department had transferred its "foot-dragging" attitude from China to India. And Mr. Rosinger's subsequent refusal to be intimidated by Stassen's wild claims was most encouraging. What is surprising about Stassen's testimony, in fact, is not its phoniness and opportunism but its stupidity.

*

ATTACKING THE "EXTRAORDINARY FATUITY that comes over the stuffed shirts in foreign offices and embassies," the Manchester *Guardian* charged on October 8 that a new Persian effort to start negotiations on a basis more favorable to Britain was needlessly rebuffed. Publishing the full text of the proposals, the *Guardian* suggested they were rejected largely because the Foreign Office and its embassy in Teheran had decided not to negotiate with Dr. Mossadegh under any conditions. British officials had also pointed out that the document was "undated, unsigned, and not on official paper." The fact that the proposals were put forward by the pro-Western Hussein Ala, who represents the Shah as Court Minister, apparently did not count with the Foreign Office. Nor did the fact that Iran had modified its claim in two important respects. It would now permit the new refinery manager to be a "foreign technician," possibly British; in fact, Mr. Ala apparently gave the British Ambassador an oral assurance that Iran intended to appoint a Briton. And it offered to allow the British government to buy its oil at half price until its compensation claims were covered. According to the *Guardian,* the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were away from London when the proposals were rejected, which suggests to certain Labor M. P.'s that the bungling and bad advice of Conservatives in the Foreign Office have given Mr. Churchill an effective stick with which to belabor the government.

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Egypt: the Cause Behind the Issue

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF WASHINGTON really believes that the proposed inclusion of Egypt in a new Near Eastern defense system will end the trouble with Britain it is due to be disappointed. Such an offer will give the Egyptians an extensive field for expert bargaining, but agreement can be had only at a high price if at all. The fact that the abrogation of the two treaties—permitting Britain to maintain troops in the Suez Canal zone and governing the condominium over the Sudan—was announced just when the defense plan was about to be submitted to Cairo tells its own story. In effect it said that Egypt would enter any negotiations only as a nation which had cut the last threads of foreign control and done so unilaterally, not as part of a deal. That the action itself was a breach of the treaty agreements indicates the lengths to which Egypt is ready to go to assert its total independence. It seems most improbable that the question of defense, which so obviously dominates the approach of both Whitehall and the State Department, will have any moderating effect in Cairo.

On the contrary, it will only increase Egypt's already large bargaining power; for while the government of Mustafa Nahas Pasha has no oil to give or withhold and while it would probably not use force in an attempt to expel British troops from the canal zone, Egypt is still the key to the security of the Eastern Mediterranean. Its Wafdist government, strengthened rather than weakened by "opposition" parties and organizations even more chauvinist than itself, can if it wishes create an impossible situation for the Atlantic pact powers. In fact, while many details are different, the political position as a whole bears an uncomfortable likeness to that of Iran, whose bargaining strength is today being demonstrated in the United Nations. This is a moment when sheer nationalist passion, outweighing security or even apparent national interest, is the ultimate controlling force in an area of critical international concern—a fact both Britain and America have consistently underestimated ever since the war ended.

To say this is not to suggest that Egypt's present move is "correct." Certainly the 1936 treaty of alliance with Britain was dated and in need of revision; but it is not true that the treaty, as Egypt's politicians would have us believe, was forced upon a helpless and unwilling victim. On the contrary it was a long step toward the "liquidation" of British imperialism in the Middle East. It ended Britain's occupation of Egypt and established the political independence of the country. British forces were limited to the canal zone and on Britain's initiative

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Egypt was unanimously voted into the League of Nations. Negotiated by the very Premier who has now announced its abrogation, the treaty was acclaimed in Egypt as a nationalist triumph. As for the condominium agreement, it has at least made possible the development of an enlightened and honest administration of the Sudan, chiefly under British control. To abolish it on the terms Egypt proposes would merely substitute Egyptian rule for British and wipe out some promising beginnings of social progress and self-government in the Sudan. This would mean not the end of imperialism but merely imperialism of a worse sort. Whether or not the Sudanese are ready for complete independence, they should certainly be consulted, under neutral auspices, before their status is altered. Principle apart, the condition of Egypt's masses is not such as to provide arguments for a shift in rulers.

Nor is Egypt's nationalism likely to prove impervious to offers. The government may be willing to join a defense system which would permit foreign troops to garrison the canal if its own preeminence is recognized and the special role of Britain is abolished. But it will certainly demand—and get—funds to build up its own armed forces, with the further purpose of establishing its dominance in the Arab League and its superiority vis-à-vis Israel. In fact the total bill Egypt will present is likely to contain other sizable items, apart from its permanent claims in the Nile Valley; almost certainly it will attempt, in the name of security, to force territorial concessions in the Negev at the expense of Israel. In fact, Egypt's denunciation of its treaties with Britain must be viewed as a continuation and expansion of its illegal blockade of the Suez Canal to cut off trade with Israel. One dispute gears into the next.

To try to stem these rising waters by arranging patchwork deals is a hopeless business, if only because no government in the position of Egypt's or Iran's or Iraq's can be counted upon to stay put. It can exact the utmost out of a dispute and then, under pressure of the forces at large in the country, repudiate its agreement and produce another crisis. It can do this without scruples, almost with a sense of virtue, because, however unjustified its behavior on any given issue, the cause behind the issue is just. The claims of the Arab states to actual rather than qualified independence cannot be compromised much longer; and the claims of the dependent areas to self-government is far over-due.

Visible links join Egypt, intent upon ousting the last vestiges of British rule, with Tunis and Morocco and Algiers. Even while Egypt pushes its case against Britain, the redoubtable Riff leader, Abd el Krim, operates from Cairo against Morocco's French and Spanish overlords. The fine talk in France at the war's end about converting the dependent areas into free members of a democratic French Union produced insignificant reforms. Nationalism and oppressive measures have increased together.

To mention Point Four sounds rather fatuous in a week when American military appropriations mounted to a $94 billion total, and expenditures for peace dwindled almost to invisibility. It remains true, just the same, that security in the Mediterranean, or in the Arab world as a whole, cannot be had by "arrangements" with governments no matter what the price paid or the terms agreed to. Let Washington make the best possible deal with Egypt; it will be no stronger than the treaties Egypt has broken as long as the misery of the people creates enough smoldering unrest to provide a blaze any time the politicians need one to reinforce new demands.

The British Elections

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, October 14

ON THE surface, apathy seems to be the dominant characteristic of Britain's election campaign. Few campaign posters are to be seen on walls and fences. There have been no big mass rallies, and there will be none. All political meetings are being held in small rooms, school basements, gymnasiums, and the like. In fact, a curious visitor, if he took a holiday from the newspapers, could walk around central London all day and find little to make him aware that a campaign is on.

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Yet the people are not really apathetic; they simply have their own peculiar way of reaching the biggest decision a democratic electorate can make.

They have, for one thing, an equalizing elections law. Rich candidates or parties are prevented from having any advantage over poor candidates or parties. The expenditure allowed was always low, and now that the cost of everything, including politics, is soaring, candidates cannot afford to print more than a few hundred posters or to hold more than a limited number of meetings in hired halls. The big halls cannot be hired at all. One night's rental of one would exhaust any candidate's permitted campaign treasury. For another thing, the British

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radio is required to be squeamishly non-partisan, and it succeeds by the simple expedient of forbidding all election news. Add to these technical obstacles the inborn British trait of liking to make serious decisions in a serious manner, and the calm surface of the campaign is accounted for.

But underneath beats a political pulse of uncommon vigor. A public-opinion poll the other day indicated that the proportion of the electorate voting may top the phenomenal figure of 84 per cent at the last general election. The reasons for the great public interest are not hard to find. While the parties have prepared for a routine campaign, world events have conspired to show that the situation is very unroutine and extraordinary. One stunning blow after another has shocked the people into an awareness that the nation's fortunes are at the lowest ebb since 1776. On Monday, Egypt announced its intention of breaking the treaty under which Britain garrisons the Suez. At midweek Iraq served notice that it wanted to renegotiate the agreement whereby Britain maintains air bases in that country. On the same day Premier Malan of South Africa demanded that Britain hand over a group of native protectorates in Africa to his anti-native government, or, to quote his words, he would take "other steps" to get them. And, finally, in New York, Iran rejected informally a Security Council proposal that might have saved Great Britain at least part of its biggest foreign investment—the oil refineries of Abadan.

The harsh truth is that the world in which Britain built its greatness has changed and that the margin of wealth and power from colonial and semi-colonial sources is fast disappearing. With characteristic historical insight, Winston Churchill summed up the situation this week in these words: "We have brought into being, through the progress of Victorian times, fifty million people on an island which grows food for only thirty million, and all the rest has to be provided for by the goods and services we can render to other countries. There never was a community of fifty million people standing at our high level of civilization on such an insecure foundation."

Other events of the week have driven home the fact that Britain's efforts to meet the situation are not proving adequate. Two days ago foreign trade figures for September were published. They showed a perilous fall in British exports. The excess of purchases over sales was three times what it was at this time last year. On top of this, coal production is not rising to meet demand.

THE outstanding feature of the campaign seems to be that seldom has such a large portion of the public had such a hard time making up its mind. Take the Gallup poll on the key question: "Whom will you vote for?" Three weeks ago the answers gave the Tories an eleven-point lead over Labor; this week the Tory lead had been narrowed to six points. But on the subsidiary question, "Which of the two big parties do you feel will do the better by you personally?" the figures were just the opposite. Labor has a five-point lead over the Tories on this question. Ordinarily the party you think will benefit you most is the party you vote for, but in Britain, given the present state of national anxiety, people are making a sharp distinction. While the majority believe Labor would do most for them personally, they feel that the Tories are more likely to take the drastic measures necessary to meet the national crisis. The distinction reflects an admirable civic consciousness, but it is giving the pollsters a headache. The spread between the answers to these questions indicates a large potential last-minute switch. People are only half decided. There are doubtless many who, as in the American election of 1948, will enter the polling booth prepared to vote for one party but, facing the awful stare of the blank ballot, will put their cross down for the other. The best observers I know say the result cannot be predicted.

The difficulty is that the two chief parties have failed to offer distinctive programs. The Tories have moved so far toward the left, toward the welfare state, and the Laborites have moved so far to the right, away from pure socialism, that it is hard to find any sharp difference. The Tories say they detest nationalization of industries but will not denationalize coal, railways, or electricity. Laborites say they like nationalization but do not propose to nationalize any additional industries. This leaves both parties in about the same place. The Tory bias in favor of big business will not, as Churchill said last night, cause the party to take any action against the unions, any more than Labor's bias in favor of the unions has prevented Britain from accumulating considerable wealth in the last five years. Actually the scene is dominated by "liberals" opposing one another in the guise of Conservatives and Laborites. Voters are required to choose between them on the basis of personal qualities and of mere degrees of differing coloration.

The period after the elections, indeed, is likely to be more decisive for Britain than the elections themselves. The defeated party is almost certainly going to suffer a split. If Labor loses, the Bevanite left-wingers are likely to be removed, leaving the bulk of the party to Attlee, who is a liberal. If the Tories lose, Churchill—the only real Conservative—is likely to be eased into retirement, leaving the party leadership to Anthony Eden, who is also a liberal. Continuing economic crisis will make it ever harder for Eden and Attlee to maintain the artificial differences between them. Although many obstacles exist, events seem to be moving the politicians of both parties toward an expedient that most voters would probably prefer if only because it would relieve them of their indecision—namely, a political truce after the elections, and then a coalition.

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And Now Stassen

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, October 10

IT STILL seems unlikely that the Wisconsin revolving Ananias, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, will be expelled from the nation's most exclusive gentlemen's club by vote of his colleagues. Within the past few days, indeed, it has become apparent that McCarthyism is a hydra-headed monster. When the Wisconsin Senator is temporarily silenced, some superficially more respectable politician—most recently Harold E. Stassen—pops up to do his work for him. But Senator William Benton of Connecticut has delivered a blow which may prove really effective. The elections subcommittee headed by Senator Gillette of Iowa has voted a formal investigation of Benton's heavily documented charges that McCarthy is a perjurer, a habitual practitioner of deliberate deceit, and unworthy of Senate membership. If a few more key people show the courage of Benton and the members of the Gillette committee, the McCarthy blight may yet be eradicated—possibly by vote of the people of Wisconsin.

It is necessary, unfortunately, to discuss Mr. Stassen. The one-time self-designated liberal from Minnesota, who is now president of the University of Pennsylvania, upset the hearing on Philip C. Jessup by charging that two or three years ago Jessup favored recognition of Communist China. Appearing before the Sparkman committee considering Ambassador Jessup's nomination as an American delegate to the United Nations, Stassen disclaimed any sympathy for McCarthy's techniques, but after offering hearsay testimony on Jessup and China, he also flung in insinuations that Jessup was now scheming to "sell out" India to Stalin the way Formosa-first Republicans say the feeble Chiang Kai-shek was "sold out."

Stassen's evidence against Jessup on China was his memory of an oral conversation with the late Senator Vandenberg—not supported by Vandenberg's diary—and of a State Department conference in which Jessup said things that are subject to sundry interpretations as to motive and shades of meaning. To support his fantastic accusation of a current "plot" to "sell out" India Stassen claimed that the State Department had dragged its feet in granting Prime Minister Nehru's request for American wheat. The foot-dragging charge happens to be accurate: Senator Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat, tried his best for nearly a year to get the State Department to move more rapidly in meeting India's food deficiencies. But the primary reason for the delay was that before giving or lending wheat to India the executive branch had to get the approval of Congress, which was and still is angry at Nehru. The department had to bring tremendous pressure on Congress to get the wheat loan finally voted this year, and the loan's opponents were in the main members of Stassen's Republican Party.

Some straight thinking about China is necessary. As long as Chinese armies are killing Americans and other United Nations troops in Korea, we can hardly recognize Mao Tse-tung's regime or consent to its admission into the U. N. But any American diplomat who two years ago was not "considering" recognition should have been fired as incompetent. We should still be "considering" recognition as something that may seem more advisable when the Korean fighting is over.

Recognition of a government does not imply approval of its nature. Traditionally the United States usually recognized a government that was in actual control of the territory it claimed to represent, and that is sound policy. Our long-range policy toward China must now be to try to separate any government on the Chinese mainland —Communist or non-Communist—from complete dependence upon and alliance with the Soviet Union. The issue in early 1949 was whether recognition or non-recognition offered the better approach. Rightly or wrongly, Acheson and Jessup decided, under President Truman, on non-recognition, and Stassen's belated complaints about what he thinks Jessup was "considering" are irrelevant. They tell more about Stassen than they do about Jessup, and they come with poor grace from a man who himself merely argued that the State Department should delay recognition about two years, to see how Mao Tse-tung's regime behaved.

The State Department would strengthen its position if it were less anxious to cover up, not its past sins and derelictions, but some of its occasional and half-forgotten virtues. It should not have permitted Stassen to smoke out the fact that it had once supported a proposal to withhold American aid from Chiang pending a "clarification" of the military situation. Such belated admissions will not strengthen the Administration against the political attack on its China policy which is certain to figure in next year's election. Nor does Dr. Jessup clarify either the moral or the political issue by his unapologetic admission of former participation in the America First movement.

For the record, it is not a new thing for McCarthy and Stassen to run in double harness. When McCarthy was

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campaigning against Robert M. La Follette in the 1946 Republican senatorial primary, Stassen lent him a political operator as adviser, and this operator traveled to Washington as McCarthy's first administrative assistant.

To the disgrace of the Sparkman subcommittee and the Senate, Stassen's attack on Jessup has apparently had some effect. Senator Brewster, a true McCarthyite, is opposed to confirmation, and Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, a well-meaning but woolly-headed Republican, is apparently intellectually incapable of making a clean-cut decision between McCarthy and one of his victims. So there is talk that the nomination will be "passed over" until next session. This is preposterous, since the Jessup appointment was a direct challenge from Mr. Truman to the Senate to vote him up or vote him down. It would mean that Stassen—the respectable Republicans' McCarthy—had scored a minor triumph. If the Democrats and liberal Republicans tolerate this, it will simply postpone the time when honorable Senators must stand up and be counted.

As for McCarthy, he may be forced on the defensive by Benton and the Gillette-committee investigation as he has never been before. Benton's charge that McCarthy is a congenital liar unfit for Senate membership was heavily supported by the detailed recapitulation of his contradictory statements on the floor, in committee, and elsewhere. Perhaps Benton will now add another instance. After Jessup was recently cleared by the Loyalty Review Board, McCarthy told reporters that former Senator Bingham, board chairman, had told him (McCarthy) that Jessup was cleared only as a "loyalty risk," and that had it been possible to consider him as a "security risk," Jessup would have been turned down. Bingham promptly announced to the press, "I never told McCarthy any such thing," adding that he hadn't even talked to McCarthy about Jessup.

The arrest, by the Swiss government, of Charles E. Davis on a charge of conducting "illegal political espionage" for McCarthy will not add to the Senator's popularity at home or abroad, and the trial of Davis may well turn up some interesting additional information about the strange career of Joe McCarthy.

McCarthy's present tactic is to refuse to appear before the Gillette committee. He has written Gillette that he has not read Benton's accusations and does not intend to. Naturally he hesitates to place himself in the defendant's chair and take the risks of cross-examination. But something may still be done. A report from the Gillette committee, even if it recommends merely censure, will help inform the people of Wisconsin what manner of man represents them in the Senate.

Governor Walter J. Kohler is considering running against McCarthy in the Republican senatorial primary next year. Tom Coleman, wealthy angel of Wisconsin Republicans, is trying to stop Kohler because he thinks a "party-splitting" fight would damage his own chances of delivering Wisconsin to Senator Taft as Republican Presidential nominee. No doubt he also realizes that a formal report from the Gillette committee might place Taft on a spot in the Senate. But some showdowns are coming.

Jessup's nomination invited one. Benton's attack may eventually lead to another on the moral leprosy of McCarthyism. One Republican Senator who, like most of his colleagues, despises McCarthy personally told me that Benton's hard-hitting attack through the Gillette committee offered the best chance yet to expose the gentleman from Wisconsin to the voters of his state.

Rearmament: the Undebated Issue

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

THE electoral battle in Britain is now fully joined, and until the counting of the votes on October 25 determines the complexion of the next British government, there will be no grappling with the mounting economic difficulties of the country. Nor, it appears, is there to be much realistic public discussion of the problems involved, even though the basic issue before the voters is whether they are to be solved by socialist or "free enterprise" methods. For different reasons neither Laborites nor Tories are prepared to talk frankly about the nature and consequences of the economic crisis: neither party is ready to tell the people the harsh truth that if the rearmament program is to be carried out in full and on schedule, living standards will have to be reduced.

This is so because competing claims on the national income are too great to be met from the current output of goods and services. The arms program, which is still far from reaching its peak, must absorb an increasing proportion of Britain's resources of man-power, plant, and materials. The increased cost of imported food and raw materials must be offset by a further expansion of exports. Investment, which is currently absorbing around 20 per cent of the national income, must be maintained if greater productivity is to be achieved in the future. In

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of The Nation, *discussed the causes of Britain's economic crisis in last week's issue.*

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the light of these "musts" the final claim on the national income, that of domestic consumption, must be restricted. How, then, is this to be done?

If we turn to the Labor Party's manifesto, approved by the Scarborough conference, we find that this question is not even posed, let alone answered. The main theme of the document is the amelioration of the condition of the workers that has been achieved during six years of Labor government: the return of Labor to power, it implies, will make possible a steady continuation of this process. There is no suggestion that the arms program, superimposed on a fully employed economy, has created a critical situation, apart from a statement that the shortage of raw materials has caused "great difficulties" and that "rising world prices have increased the cost of living, but much less in Britain than in most other countries." To check any further rise, Labor, we are told, will continue its efforts to secure by international action a fairer distribution of raw materials and a reduction in world prices, while instituting at home stronger controls and more drastic action against monopolies.

However, the manifesto ignores the major cause of domestic inflation—the rise in the total of money incomes in the face of prospective decline in the volume of goods available for the home market. True, it refers briefly to increased taxation of great fortunes and large unearned incomes, and proposes measures to prevent large capital gains. On the other hand, it promises to reduce taxation on small incomes, when "possible," and to equalize the pay of men and women in the public service—a long overdue act of justice but one which will swell the total of money chasing scarce goods.

THE Tory program does recognize the existence of a crisis but fails to relate it to rearmament, which, it declares, would be carried out in full by a Conservative government. Instead, it ascribes Britain's economic and financial troubles wholly to the extravagance and incompetence of the Labor government and its attempts "to impose a doctrinaire socialism on an island that has grown great and famous by free enterprise." Once the Tories are returned to office, the voters are told, this situation will rapidly be remedied by relaxing controls and giving free enterprise incentives to produce more.

If elected, the Tories will "cut all unnecessary expenditure . . . and prune waste and extravagance in every department." Possibly a few millions can be saved by administrative economies, although historically the Tories have not proved very provident housekeepers. But any really significant reductions in expenditure, outside the field of defense, can be obtained only by changes in social policy. The Tories, however, are assuring the voters that they have no designs against the welfare state. They promise "to give housing a priority second only to national defense" and to set up "a target" of 300,000 houses a year—50 per cent more than the total for which man-power and materials are now being found. Moreover, an undertaking to provide better education and health services "for the money now being spent" is hardly compatible with a reduction of total costs in these departments. Nor is a proposal to review the position of pensioners to insure that "the hardest cases are met first" likely to produce savings. In view of the impact of rising prices on pensioners such a review should lead to an increase in total disbursement. Finally, the Tories admit that food subsidies, the abolition of which has long been a primary aim of advocates of disinflation, "cannot be radically changed in present circumstances."

None of these pronouncements suggest that a Tory administration would employ fiscal means to bring about that cut in consumption which the relief of inflationary pressures requires. But there seems to be a discrepancy between the Tories' public and private thinking on this question, and it would not be surprising if, back in office, they discovered that circumstances forced them to renege on their election promises. In a recent article in the Manchester *Guardian*, Colin Clark, the distinguished economist and statistician, recalled the way in which the Tories misled the electorate in 1931 with warnings against the danger of inflation, warnings which in the circumstances of that time were either "foolish or dishonest." "I get the impression," he adds, "that the same vein of dishonesty runs through their propaganda to this day. 'Of course we must cut food subsidies and social services and work longer hours, but it is no use saying so. We must win the election on some other line of talk and then proceed to do these things.' "

Reading the rival pronouncements of the two leading British parties it is hard to avoid the conclusion that both are offering the voters soothing syrup instead of the harsh medicine that the economic situation demands. Both breathe a spirit of easy optimism: neither faces the fact that if rearmament is to go ahead at its present pace, total supplies of food, clothing, and consumer goods of all kinds will have to be diminished and an even greater degree of austerity imposed on the country. The alternative is inflation, which in the long run—and not such a very long one at that—will undercut living standards still more drastically.

I fear, therefore, that whichever side wins on October 25 Britons are going to experience a series of rude shocks. The first duty of the new government will be to take steps to reduce the volume of exports and to divert domestic resources from the production of goods for the home market to the manufacture of arms and goods for export. Simultaneously, it will be necessary to curb the flow of cash incomes so as to lessen the pressure of purchasing power on a shrinking supply of goods.

If Labor wins, we can expect that the requisite sacrifices will be spread as equitably as possible and the

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heaviest burdens placed on the strongest backs. But it is no use pretending that the whole load can be carried by the rich; until the hump of rearmament is negotiated and total national production increased, living standards of all but the very poor are likely to be adversely affected.

Thus, however wrong Mr. Bevan and his followers may be in their assertion that the rearmament program is larger than international dangers warrant, their forecast of its social and economic consequences is being proved right. It would be better if both Labor and Tory leaders publicly recognized this fact and told the country frankly what the real costs of rearmament will be and how they propose to meet them. By failing in candor they are insulting the character and intelligence of the electorate in a way that could cause real harm to democratic morale in Britain.

Peace Through Trade

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Geneva, September 29

ANYONE who judged the international situation from the tone of the final meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) would have supposed this the best of all possible worlds. For more than an hour spokesmen of the two hostile blocs joined in praising the way in which President Hernan Santa Cruz had directed the council's work. The atmosphere of Geneva was undoubtedly favorable to harmony, and this was the principal reason why the French delegate, Georges Boris, proposed that the 1952 summer session also be held here instead of in New York, though he politely declared he was thinking of the weather. However, since the Latin American delegates had received strict instructions to vote with the United States, New York won by a narrow vote.

An issue closely connected with the question of site had been debated on the preceding day. This was whether a state had the right to refuse to allow a person accredited to the U. N.—as a delegate, an expert, a representative of an unofficial organization, or a journalist—to enter the country in order to attend a meeting of any U. N. agency. A majority of the council held that a state did not have this right, no matter what the political affiliation, ideology, or sympathies of the person seeking entrance. The discussion visibly irritated Isador Lubin, United States delegate; from his remarks one might have thought that the Justice Department's restrictions and the McCarran law were no more than figments of *The Nation's* imagination. The speeches of the Eastern European delegates on this matter were curiously reserved. Their caution strengthened the belief that Foreign Minister Vishinsky might offer formally a suggestion casually thrown out in the last Assembly—that the next session of the Assembly be held in Moscow.

In his farewell speech Señor Santa Cruz struck the balance of Ecosoc's successes and failures. He justly praised the work of the International Children's Emergency Fund in providing food, clothing, and medical care for millions of children in all parts of the world. He mentioned the accomplishments of the commission for the control of the drug traffic—the part it played, for example, in the recent seizure of 239 kilograms of raw opium at Marseilles.* Unfortunately, much of the progress made has been counterbalanced by the failure to set up a system of international control of the manufacture and sale of narcotics. At a conference of the principal drug-manufacturing countries held at Geneva in 1950 the creation of an international non-profit opium monopoly with powers of inspection and control was proposed. This would have been a great step forward, but it was checked by the fear of establishing a precedent which could be invoked for other purposes. When agreement seemed hopeless, the conference decided to submit the question to the governments concerned before November 1 and to ask the Narcotics Division of the U. N. to urge the advantage of international control.

Señor Santa Cruz had the courage to admit that "in social matters the results achieved by the council at this session are somewhat disappointing." He referred to its delay in tackling the problem of over-population in certain parts of the world, and to its "timid and feeble action" in the narrower field of financing European emigration to Latin America. Outspoken though he was, Señor Santa Cruz refrained from bluntly recognizing that the West's rearmament policy has relegated to second place the famous Point Four program and other schemes to aid underdeveloped regions. Just as in individual countries rearmament has held up social reform, new housing, educational advances, old-age assistance, and efforts to raise wages or lower the cost of living, so on the international plane it has reduced Point Four to a mere rhetorical abstraction. Priority everywhere is given to expenditures for defense.

"I cannot but regret," said the conservative Señor Santa Cruz, "that the council has failed to fulfil the express recommendation of the General Assembly that it should propose practical methods to obtain an in-

*I described the work of these organizations in *The Nation* of June 23, 1951.

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creased flow of capital for financing the development programs of the underdeveloped countries." The president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Eugene Black, Jr., feels differently. Members of Ecosoc were scandalized when Mr. Black told his Board of Governors on September 10 that he did not approve of the program the bank was charged with carrying out. In the six years of its existence the Bank for Reconstruction and Development has lent only $545,000,000 for economic-development projects; the funds available under Point Four amount to less than $200,000,000 a year. This is only half the supplemental appropriation of $400,000,000 requested by President Truman for the South Carolina hydrogen-bomb plant. Yet people in the United States who ought to know better still talk as if Point Four were being made a reality.

A SERIOUS development program would be a tremendous undertaking requiring much more than just money. The multiple aspects of the problem could be barely touched on by Ecosoc. The idea that the United States, by placing its wealth and its technical know-how at the service of countries which had neither, could assure the happiness of hundreds of millions of underfed human beings is too simple to fit the facts. The success of the undertaking would call for the cooperation of the countries to be helped, the development of teams of native technicians who could continue the work begun by the Americans, and above all the realization that any profound change in a country's working techniques brings revolutionary changes in its social structure. From some quarters came warnings that the introduction of machines would develop a proletariat and open the way to communism. This possibility was enough to chill the enthusiasm of those who had thought of Point Four primarily as a means of obtaining needed raw materials, opening new markets, and countering Soviet influence in regions with feudal social conditions and sharp contrasts between classes.

And yet if Point Four had been inspired by the noble ideal of international reconciliation and peace, it might have offered a real way out of a situation which threatens a new world conflagration. That at least is the opinion of the men who for the last four years have been attending the sessions of Ecosoc.

The field of action is immense. One opportunity was indicated by the report on the food crisis submitted by the Food and Agriculture Organization, another agency of Ecosoc. Two-thirds of the people in the world, the report showed, are undernourished. In the last ten years the production of foodstuffs has increased only 1 per cent while the world's population has increased 13 per cent; during the same period per capita consumption in terms both of calories and of proteins has declined in most countries. When a grave emergency arises, like the famine this year in India, no international machinery exists for coping with it.

Other aspects of the world's economy appear no more encouraging. In one of his speeches before the council Mr. Lubin expressed his satisfaction with conditions in the United States, where production was going full blast, unemployment was at a minimum, and national wealth was increasing. But Britain, according to an interesting monograph by the English statistician, Colin Clark, on the Three Economic Illusions—cheap food, taxable capacity, and increasing productivity—is headed toward a big inflation, despite its admirable spirit of discipline and sacrifice. And a recent report of the French Minister of Commerce tells us that French exports have markedly decreased. The latest statistics on the cost of living in every country in Europe are horrifying.

Even those who place economic preparation for war above social welfare will finally realize that the difficulties of financing a global war are much greater than they think. The gravity of the problem was made clear at the Ottawa conference. And in the opinion of the economists with whom I have talked it will be stressed still more strongly at the next meeting of the Atlantic Council. No one here envies the committee of experts appointed at Ottawa to study ways and means of paying for the new armies being raised for Atlantic defense—if the United States will not foot the bill.

IN THESE circumstances it is no wonder that some of the best men in the Economic and Social Council support Gunnar Myrdal's proposal to tackle the twofold problem of preventing war and restoring prosperity by liberalizing world trade and especially by reducing the barriers to trade between the Soviet and Western blocs. Myrdal has his enemies but he also has devoted friends. At the plenary meeting of the council on September 15 a resolution was adopted stating that "the programs of the Economic Commission for Europe [of which Mr. Myrdal is the chairman and leading spirit] and its committees continue to be of primary importance for the maintenance of sound economic relations among European nations and for their economic progress," and asking the General Assembly to "consider favorably the financial requirements for a satisfactory implementation of the 1951-52 work program." The passage of this resolution was a rebuke to those who have tried to discredit the far-sighted Swedish economist chiefly because he is the one man who can get Russians, Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, Indians, and others to work together around a council table.

Myrdal's position has been strengthened by the alacrity with which every country of Western Europe has entered into negotiations with the Soviet satellites looking toward

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the resumption of trade. Encouraged by the success of a trial meeting which he recently arranged between representatives of East and West, Mr. Myrdal quietly continues his efforts. He has not given up the idea of a world economic conference, although he knows that Washington's attitude toward Russia would first have to undergo a great change. The Kremlin's call for an economic conference in Moscow will hardly receive enough response in the West to assure a new approach to the problem of liberalizing world trade. Among some European business leaders, however, it has won surprisingly favorable consideration. In this connection I learned from a most dependable source that Stalin is prepared to offer a very tempting program of trade relations with the Western European countries. Important French industrialists have been approached by an organization that has always favored a negotiated settlement with the U. S. S. R.—L'Union Nationale des Ingénieurs, Techniciens, et Cadres—and although the powerful Conseil National du Patronat Français is maintaining an attitude of reserve, lest the move be only a part of the propaganda surrounding Moscow's "peace offensive," individual industrialists are responding to the prospect of increased sales.

Limit Whose Taxes?

BY NORMAN REDLICH

FOR fifteen years diehard remnants of the groups that equate income taxes with state socialism have been waging a campaign to undermine the federal tax structure and place an unbearable burden on the low-income masses. Their gimmick is an amendment to the Constitution which would prevent Congress, except in war time, from imposing an income tax that would take more than 25 per cent of a person's income.

Given the necessities of government spending, one would think that most taxpayers would be opposed to the measure. But a Gallup poll of September 27 shows that nearly six out of every ten adults favor it—doubtless without realizing its implications. After failing to push the amendment through Congress in 1936, its backers decided to try the other method of changing the Constitution. This is to induce two-thirds of the state legislatures to request an amendment, whereupon Congress must convene as a constitutional convention and present the proposal to the states; upon ratification by three-fourths of the states the amendment is adopted.

Although this procedure presents special problems, it enables advocates of an amendment to operate away from the spotlight of Washington. By strenuous work the tax-limitation forces have slowly gathered the approving votes of twenty-two states—ten short of the two-thirds necessary. But seven states have rescinded their approval, and if the validity of their rescissions is established, seventeen more states must be won over.

A glance at the list of organizations supporting the amendment will discover its real purpose. The Committee for Constitutional Government was of course in the forefront of the fight against the New Deal and equates the Fair Deal with socialism. The Small Business Economic Foundation, which represents business "small" in name only, is a well-financed group closely allied with the Committee for Constitutional Government. The same can be said of the Western Tax Council and the American Taxpayers' Association. To put it bluntly, these groups support the amendment for two reasons: they want to cut the tax bills of their members regardless of the consequences to the nation's economy; and they want to prevent further social-welfare legislation by drastically reducing federal revenues.

The underlying argument for the amendment is the old "trickle-down" theory of prosperity. Lower corporate and individual taxes, it is said, will increase investment, thus leading to more employment, higher incomes, and in the long run more tax revenue, even though the rates are reduced. This argument is usually coupled with the unsound proposition that high corporate taxes bring high prices. Reduce taxes, the sponsors of the amendment claim, and prices will come down, consumers will buy more, business will prosper, and corporations will be able to pay more taxes at lower rates. If the tax yield drops, the government will have to economize.

Actually the chief factor limiting investment is not high taxes but the ability of the public to consume. The advocates of lower taxes prefer to forget that the 1929 crash came at the end of nearly a decade in which Republican administrations had adhered faithfully to the tax theories of the business community. In the past six years we have experienced one of the greatest investment booms in our history despite the highest peace-time taxes we have ever known.

Nor is there any economic foundation for the contention that lower taxes would reduce prices and thereby

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increase purchasing power. Business men set prices at the point of maximum earnings. The mere fact that the government would take a smaller percentage of these earnings would not induce corporations to lower prices already calculated to achieve maximum profits. Lower taxes would simply enable business to retain a larger share of the profits.

THERE is little doubt that the amendment would greatly reduce revenues. Representative Wright Patman estimates it would cause a federal deficit of ten billion dollars even in prosperous times. Stanley H. Ruttenberg, director of education and research for the C. I. O., says the amendment would reduce revenues for the fiscal year 1952 by fifteen billion dollars.

At best these figures are intelligent guesses, since the Treasury Department's last statement on the contribution of various income groups to the total revenue is for the year 1947. If the rates of 1950 had been applied to the 1947 group of non-corporate taxpayers, slightly less than 2 per cent of those filing returns would have paid taxes greater than 25 per cent of their net income. But these taxpayers as a group would have saved 2.2 billion dollars if they had been taxed at the 25 per cent rate. Since inflation has probably brought a larger number of taxpayers into this category since 1947, the loss to the government today from a 25 per cent ceiling on personal income taxes would run closer to three billion dollars.

It is in the corporate field, however, that the government would suffer its greatest loss. With rates what they are today, every corporation earning more than $25,000 would benefit from the amendment. In 1945, a good year for comparison because of the excess-profits tax, 16 per cent of corporations earned more than $25,000 and paid 95 per cent of all corporate taxes. Had the proposed ceiling been in effect then, these corporations would have saved more than five billion dollars—at current rates. Today many more corporations would be included in the over-$25,000 earnings category; in fact, it is estimated that the revenue from corporate taxes this year will be almost double that of 1944. It would be fair, therefore, to estimate that the amendment would cost the government about ten billion dollars in corporate taxes. If it is intended to apply also to estate and gift taxes, which is not clear, the total estimated loss of revenue to the government, at today's rates, would be between thirteen and fourteen billion dollars.

Although the amendment allows the tax ceiling to be pierced in time of war, it makes no exception for a situation like the present, when a state of undeclared war exists. The government would therefore have to find some way to make up for the revenue lost. To impose a federal sales tax or to increase excise taxes would place an additional burden on the poorer classes. To increase the level of taxation among all groups to the 25 per cent limit would destroy the principle of progressive taxation. Another alternative might be to lower exemptions from the present $500 figure. None of these courses, however, would raise the required revenue, and none would be politically feasible. Any attempt to obtain funds by the sale of government bonds would create enormous inflationary pressure.

Even in peace time the amendment would cripple the ability of the government to finance a wide range of important programs. For example, under the Employment Act of 1946 the federal government must take measures to maintain employment in a depression. But it would not be able to finance the necessary projects if it could not draw money from high-income groups. Only by continuously adding to the national debt could it fulfil this and similar obligations. The expansion of other federal responsibilities would also be prevented. The people might demand health insurance, aid to education, or regional developments, but the amendment would act as a permanent guardian of the status quo.

Charitable and educational institutions would feel the pinch, for since the amendment would undoubtedly place the ceiling on *net* income, the government in self-defense would restrict or eliminate deductions now allowed for charitable contributions. Similarly the government would seek to curtail deductions based on expenses, such as business corporations now claim in computing net taxable income.

Although the amendment has been defended as a means of returning power to the states, it would actually saddle them with additional financial obligations. For example, federal grants-in-aid would be reduced, and the states would have to raise money by taxing personal and corporate incomes. No one familiar with the present chaotic legal situation caused by differing state personal-property and sales taxes would want to see the states obliged to adopt income taxes.

BUT perhaps the most important objection is that placing a constitutional limit on the ability of Congress to tax a person's income represents a complete departure from American principles. The Constitution sets up a political framework within which day-to-day legislative decisions can be made; it does not embody any particular economic dogma. Taxation is one of these day-to-day decisions. Since no one can foretell the future obligations of the federal government, it would be foolhardy in the extreme to restrict ourselves for all time to the tax program that the Committee for Constitutional Government thinks proper in the year 1951.

Despite the feverish activity of its sponsors, the amendment is fortunately a long way from adoption. At least ten more states must approve it, and its sponsors can no longer operate in the secrecy that has protected

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their efforts up to now. Moreover, even if Congress should present the amendment to the states, it is doubtful that the requisite number would ratify it. The real danger of the movement is that it may convince Congress that public opinion is opposed to heavy taxes on corporations and on high-income groups. If this should happen, the sponsors of the amendment would have achieved their real objective: the reduction of their own taxes and the curtailment of the federal government's welfare program. In order to defeat these forces, the amendment must be exposed for what it is—an undemocratic measure sponsored by reactionary elements who hope to slip it quietly through state legislatures before the people are aware of its dangers.

Quebec's Bitter Brew

BY HENRY MONTCALM

Quebec, October 10

AMERICAN visitors to Quebec this fall, delighting in the city's Old World atmosphere, have not noticed the opening guns of a bitter political campaign preparatory to next year's election. Nor have they been aware that their government and their corporations are the leading issues. Yet every attack on Premier Duplessis by the Quebec Liberal leader, Georges Lapalme, is essentially an attack on him as an instrument of American domination. Duplessis, according to Lapalme, has kept French Canadians working for lower wages than other Canadians and for far less than American workers are paid, sent his police to beat up strikers at the Johns-Manville plants, handed over the vast Ungava iron-ore deposits to the Hanna interests of Cleveland for whatever they deigned to pay, arranged tax exemptions for the Aluminum Company, divided the forest lands between International Paper and Colonel McCormick, and secured the cooperation of the Catholic hierarchy by eliminating the rebellious and rewarding the faithful with bishoprics or even the red hat.

In 1936 Duplessis pasted together his National Union Party out of Conservative remnants, a few Liberals, and a lot of nationalists. His slogans were, and are, provincial autonomy and anti-communism. He has held office ever since, except from 1939 to 1944, when the Liberals gave the province a reasonably decent administration—Quebec does not know what reform means. In 1944, though the Liberals had a popular majority, Duplessis was able to come back because he held the rural districts. Gaspé Nord with 3,000 voters has the same representation in the Assembly as Montreal Jeanne Nance with 35,000. He then strengthened his hold on the cities, and in 1948, with a bare popular majority, won all but ten seats in the Assembly. Political genius, tight organization, fear, and money are the bases of his power. Lapalme charges that if a man is reported to listen to Liberal broadcasts, his hotel-keeper nephew may be refused a liquor license, his civil-servant cousin may lose his job. Duplessis appoints most of the Montreal and Quebec school commissions; the Labor Relations Board, which may deprive the teachers' union, or any other union that is out of favor, of its bargaining rights; the Municipal Commission, which keeps a strangle-hold on the cities' finances. He lectures newspaper editors, tells companies how to run their business. As attorney general, he commands the dreaded provincial police. He drives the Assembly like a mule team.

Quebec's taxes are the heaviest in Canada—a 5 per cent sales tax in the cities, a gasoline tax of 13 cents a gallon, levies on tractors and trailers, on restaurant meals costing more than 60 cents, on tobacco, making cigarettes cost 41 cents a package. There are school fees for children, license fees for grocery stores and cafes which are passed on to the customer, and there is the inevitable rake-off for the local boss. Lapalme asserts that 10 per cent of the money voted for roads goes into the party chest, that Cabinet members have grown rich in seven years, that commissions multiply and commissioners go on expensive jaunts. But a widow with ten children gets $52 a month in Quebec, as against $140 in Ontario.

Lapalme's greatest asset is the sullen discontent of the French Canadian workers, tired of the constant adulation which *le cheuf* requires of his followers. When the Catholic Farmers' Union presented its annual address last spring, the Premier angrily told the leaders of the delegation that not enough gratitude was shown for what the administration had done. The deficiency was not made up. The Montreal teachers are defying school commission and archbishop in their fight for union security. The A. F. of L. textile workers have stuck by their leaders through denunciations, court action, and jail terms. The Catholic syndicates got almost 50,000 signatures on a petition to release their organizer, who was being kept in solitary confinement in Bordeaux jail for his part in the asbestos strike.

Lapalme's greatest handicap is the cynicism of French Canadians, their firm belief that every politician is

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venal. After all, they reckon, Duplessis has built roads and bridges, even if some of them collapse because of "too much grease in the cement." And men and women are now busy making machine-guns and airplanes, whereas eighteen months ago unemployment was a specter. The cost of living has nearly doubled since 1939, but wages have risen too—and a job is a job. Who knows whether the Liberals would do any better?

IN THE past year a new, perhaps catalytic ingredient has been added to the explosive mixture which is Quebec politics: this is the formation of the St. Laurent-Duplessis axis. By long tradition the provincial Liberals have leaned heavily on the federal Liberals for money and aid, and in return have seen to it that Quebec voted Liberal in national elections. Indeed, Quebec was the key to Mackenzie King's power. Now the Liberal Prime Minister St. Laurent has chosen to throw this key away by making a display of his friendship for Duplessis. Last spring the British governor-general made a special trip to Quebec to bestow on an ecstatic Premier a knighthood of the Order of St. John. After President Auriol of France visited Canada, the Prime Minister wrote Duplessis thanking him for the courtesy he had shown the guest. Duplessis was commended by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons for his handling of the Ungava concessions on the very evening that he was accused of selling Quebec's birthright for a mess of pottage by a Liberal speaker in Montreal. In a bitter radio speech Lapalme replied to the head of his party that Ungava was a provincial concern and that the federal government's "international relations are not always in agreement with provincial requirements."

There is the crux of the matter. Quebec wants no war. Duplessis' role in the axis is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription, to heavy taxation, and if necessary to foreign war. Yet other men in other days have led Quebec to this bitter brew and failed to make it drink.

The policy of the Ottawa Liberals is not fundamentally different from that of National Union in Quebec. Both want Canada's resources developed by American capital, with dividends in American dollars flowing over the border and the hired man's share for Canadian capitalists and the party funds. A billion American dollars was invested in Canada in 1950. Copper, oil, iron, nickel, titanium, gold, cobalt, aluminum, chemicals, electric power, and the automobile industry are largely American owned. Quebec is Canada's greatest industrial province and has vast natural resources, but the French Canadian is little better off for all that. A French journalist wrote home last winter that the public-relations man at an Aluminum Company plant said to him, "French Canadians work harder, last longer, cost less. Of course all the administrative staff is English-speaking."

The chief mover in this happy meeting of minds between the Canadian Prime Minister and the Quebec Premier is understood to have been Clarence Decatur Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and of Defense Production. An elderly, irritable, American-born engineer, Howe is known to the cynical as "our American Gauleiter." Under legislation rushed through Parliament by the Liberal government he has complete control of the Canadian economy. He can tell a manufacturer to stop making stoves and begin making guns; he can cut off supplies from one factory and allot them to another; he can jockey prices to enrich one man and ruin another. If the opposition questions his acts, he retorts, "Who's going to stop us?" One Tory M. P. exploded, "I don't like dictators, whether they be named Stalin or Howe."

Premier Duplessis

Much scandal has been caused by the revelation that the C. D. Howe Company, from which the Minister disassociated himself when he took office in 1935, has been awarded fat contracts, without competitive bidding, by the departments he heads. But such improprieties are of small account compared to the fact that all Mr. Howe's bias, all his connections, make him the spokesman and agent of big business. Naturally he wants to have Quebec's iron and titanium and other raw materials go to the American plants; naturally he sees only blessings in close cooperation with Duplessis, who knows how to handle the French Canadians!

Lapalme talks of social justice, of better education, of the rights of labor, of corruption and waste in public office, and is getting considerable support at his meetings. He feels that he is better off since his break with the federal party, for he can now declare himself independent of Ottawa and appeal to the nationalist vote in Quebec, always a sizable factor. *Le Devoir*, organ of the Catholic intellectual group, shows signs of swinging toward him. All winter it has slashed at Canadian subservience to the State Department, at the idiocy of war. It calls the United States "the most bellicose nation on earth" and asserts, "It is not a question of a war already lost by all who participated in it, but of whether we now go toward war or peace." Lapalme's opponents have the money, the organization, the strong-arm men at the polls, the telegraphers who vote the dead and absent; but if the international sky grows darker, if Quebec becomes convinced that Duplessis is hand in glove with the Ottawa bosses who would lead it to war, a sullen people may surprise its masters.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Lobby in America

THE LOBBYISTS. The Art and Business of Influencing Lawmakers. By Karl Schriftgiesser. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

PRESSURE groups and lobbyists began operating in American politics even before the Constitutional Convention convened in Philadelphia. They are an integral aspect of our political process and perhaps a more "natural" development for this country than political parties. The fact is that our political institutions are peculiarly susceptible to pressure-groups tactics. And there is no way to abolish lobbies short of revoking the First Amendment. Yet they are a continuous source of strife, confusion, and discord, while only the most optimistic would care to argue that their net impact has been to further national well-being.

In sprightly style Karl Schriftgiesser has summarized the earlier history of pressure groups and their tactics, presented the findings of the Buchanan committee in 1950, and suggested ways in which the more disastrous results of lobbying might be minimized. He has made a useful contribution by stressing the inevitability of lobbying and emphasizing the neutral nature of the pressure process. Thus his final chapter recounts the brilliant campaign of atomic scientists to defeat the May-Johnson bill and, at least temporarily, to deny control of atomic energy to the military and their big-business allies. This success was possible because for once a lobby concerned with public welfare moved first. For "had the business interests of this country fully appreciated the significance of the provisions for the control of private activity in the field of atomic energy they would undoubtedly have mobilized all their strength in 1946 to prevent their enactment."

In a democratic society freedom of speech and the right "to petition the government for a redress of grievances" inevitably encourage minority groups to pressure legislatures for particular interests. Schriftgiesser recognizes that this right of petition and the right to be heard is not the same as "pressure." He makes clear that the "grass roots" manipulation by national advertising and mass pamphleteering utilized by the Edward A. Rumelys and Merwin K. Harts, and by the N. A. M., the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the A and P, and the A. M. A. is a perversion of a constitutional right designed to protect individual citizens against arbitrary government.

Since it is almost impossible to legislate against pressure while preserving the right to petition, Schriftgiesser accepts the provisions for registration and publicity of the federal Lobbying Act as minimum requirements. This act, which went into effect on August 2, 1946, puts no restriction on the activities of pressure groups but merely requires registration of the lobbyist, the name of his employers, the terms of his employment, and the size of his expense account. Mild as its provisions were, pressure groups fought it bitterly, and in the first year only a fraction of the Washington lobbyists registered. Despite criticism of the existing act by such astute political scientists as Professors Belle Zeller and Stephen K. Bailey, the Buchanan committee recommended only minor changes. It was satisfied that "Congress and the people can evaluate group pressures properly, provided they know the identity and financial participation of those who support such operations." This conclusion seems somewhat naive when Elmo Roper reports that the N. A. M. was known to only 49 per cent of the population, after that organization had spent $3,000,000 in 1946 to defeat the Office of Price Administration.

Mr. Schriftgiesser has rendered a service by revealing the power of pressure groups to render impotent representative government. He emphasizes that only strong executive leadership and disciplined party government can protect democracy from corruption by privilege-seeking special interests. That lobbying is most dangerous when the executive is weak and the political parties are decentralized is illustrated by historical accounts of the Armstrong investigation of life-insurance companies, the railroad and patent-medicine lobbies, and the N. A. M. campaign to destroy price control. Implicit is the warning that intensive lobbying may be expected when the stakes are high, for example, off-shore oil reserves, tax concessions, veterans' pensions, and seventy-billion-dollar armament funds.

That we have not progressed beyond the work of A. F. Bentley ("The Process of Government," 1908) in our understanding of how group pressures distort the democratic process is no reflection on Mr. Schriftgiesser's contribution. It is remarkable that an area of political behavior so frequently investigated and so ably reported by many astute Washington and state-capital correspondents should be so little understood. It is revealing that as late as 1949 the American Institute of Public Opinion could report that 45 per cent of the public could not explain the term "lobbying." But more significant is the paucity of theoretical analysis by professional students of politics, as distinct from factual reporting of tactics and suggestions for institutional controls. As in other areas of research, it may be that fundamental analysis is inhibited by the necessity to examine basic assumptions and institutions of liberal democracy, the existing power structure, and the pervasiveness of class stratification in American society.

H. H. WILSON

American Comic

SCHNOZZOLA, THE STORY OF JIMMY DURANTE. By Gene Fowler. The Viking Press. $3.

READING the Sunday *Times* review of "Schnozzola," I wondered: who's crazy? "A great book," wrote Mr. McNulty, one of those jolly *New Yorker* chaps the *Times* uses for light reviews. But was he talking about the same book I had read? So I looked again. Conclusion: no, I'm not crazy and, alas, neither is he. It is just, as Molotov used to say, a matter of taste.

For only by courtesy can "Schnozzola" be called a book at all. Everything

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one expects from even a routine biography—ordered sequence, economy, some critical spirit—is lacking. The style is a rare example of courtly Broadwayese: "In the days of the Great Sleigh Ride," runs the opening sentence, "which is to say the hurly-burly 1920's. . . ." One never knows whether an anecdote comes from Durante the man, Durante the actor, or his press agent. And everything goes: funny stories about Durante, pointless stories about Durante, stories about friends, relatives, and acquaintances—whatever Fowler happened to pick up.

On the most interesting Durante problem—the extent to which his malapropisms are spontaneous—Fowler is useless. He insists they are not contrived, yet quotes Durante as saying, "If I learned how to pronounce the big words, sixty of my pals would be out of work next day, includin' myself." Like the authors of recent books on W. C. Fields and the Marx Brothers, Fowler presents piles of unsorted information but seems determined not to let one *know* anything. Not, of course, that one does not want to have the legend of a Durante or a Fields—the legend is more important than the facts; but one would like to know where fact ends and legend begins.

And yet "Schnozzola" is worth reading. If you brush away the Fowlerisms, you get a great deal of raw material about a first-rate comic. There are excellent photographs: Durante as a young man, such a sweet Italian boy; Durante as an old man, the same sweetness. Fowler is no fool, and when he does occasionally try to think, he comes up with some shrewd though entirely undeveloped perceptions. Durante's humor, he says, stems from an overwhelming need to be loved by everyone. He is a notorious soft touch, is hurt if his show is disliked by strangers, and will go to pathetic lengths to please people.

Until we have more reliable information, we must suppose that Durante's public appeal is related to a personal sweetness, and similarly with Fields's public misanthropy. The audience seems to feel a need to believe that the comedian, at least, is genuine; that he, unlike the ordinary Hollywood actor, releases his true feelings in his work. Where so much popular entertainment is patently false, the audience may unconsciously be insisting that the comedian continue to be himself—or what we are led to believe is himself.

It is a pity that such biographies are not undertaken by serious writers. The failure of our best critical minds to write about popular culture is understandable when the material is cheap and dull: who cares to analyze comic books when he can spend the time reading Tolstoy? But Fields, Durante, and the Marx Brothers are not dull; they are artists of considerable worth who have managed to survive the stereotyping pressures of the entertainment industry; and it would be rewarding for some of our critics to think and write about them. "What!" I hear a groan of protest, "you want our marvelous comics subjected to the kind of dreary and pretentious critiques that fill the literary magazines?" Of course not; dreary and pretentious critiques of Durante are not desirable, but neither are they desirable of Kafka or of anyone else. Behind such protests against serious discussion of popular culture one always finds a leading assumption of the American middle-brow mind, the assumption that some things prosper only if untouched by intelligence.

IRVING HOWE

Literature in the U. S. S. R.

SOVIET RUSSIAN LITERATURE: 1917-50. By Gleb Struve. University of Oklahoma Press. $5.

CRITICAL surveys of Soviet writing almost inevitably suffer from the matter with which they deal, as if the progressive dehumanizing of the literature projected over the criticism a creeping apathy and a mechanical method. Gleb Struve's study, newly revised and expanded from the English editions of 1935 and 1944, in spite of its many merits suffers no less than others from these defects—for which the critic should not be too severely blamed. He can do little more than analyze the evidence of how an art was polluted by politics and by political apologetics and propaganda.

The process of exterminating literature in the Soviet Union reached its

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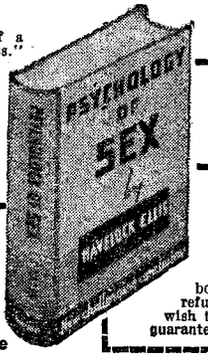

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peak when Zhdanov in 1946 established the heresy of free, individual art. During the previous twenty-nine years of the Revolution, the writer had been permitted, though with diminishing scope, to consider himself an artist rather than a machine. Mr. Struve, who is a professor of Russian literature at the University of California, has made the most of his wide reading in untranslated books and periodicals to examine the authors in these years, which he has divided into six periods, each inaugurated by a social-political event affecting literature.

The 1917 Revolution ushered in a transitional period, in which Blok, Mayakovsky, Esenin, and Bedny sought to accommodate their art to the new regime. In 1921 the New Economic Policy further affected the literary tone, with Pilnyak, Zamyatin, Gorky, and Babel among the prominent figures. In both these periods the European influence of symbolism was notable, and the European custom of literary "schools"—such as the Cosmists, Futurists, LEF, Constructivists, and On Guardists—stimulated authors to discussion of literary criteria.

With the affirming of relative artistic freedom in the 1925 resolution of the Central Committee, a brief respite was won against proletarian domination and "Communist snobbery," as the committee then put it. Many important writers, interpreting life and Soviet life with only slight hindrance, appeared at this time—Fedin, Leonov, Olesha, Sholokhov, Zoshchenko, Pasternak, and Akhmatova. The precursory harness fell over writers in 1929 when the "social command" required their glorification of the Five-Year Plan and provoked extensive controversies and the first major revision of art and history to conform with the state's policy. This was followed by the banning of literary groups and the enrolment of all authors in the Union of Soviet Writers, whose first congress announced through Zhdanov the definition of socialist realism: writers must be "engineers of human minds," that is, they must combine "truthfulness and historical concreteness of artistic depiction . . . with the task of ideological remolding and re-education of the toiling people in the spirit of socialism."

After this few new works or authors of any enduring interest appeared. Humanity, personality, emotion, and variety vanished in favor of dictated attitudes, characters, and structure; and satire, except of the West, was forbidden. Instead, accounts of collectivized "progress" and paeans to Stalin were encouraged. The war years of 1941-46 allowed some expansion of range; but after them all the slowly tested and united forces of repression fell upon the writer, already reduced to numb fear by the contradictory quirks of Soviet dogma. The gag was enforced by purges and demands for hatred of everything Western, and to rationalize it, a distortion of all fact in what one writer called the "concretely historical, scholarly approach which we are wont to describe as the party spirit."

This latest cataleptic state of literature fleetingly revealed two not unsuspected elements in Soviet power: the hint of anti-Semitism's use as a weapon (in the purges of authors); and the beatification of the Ogpu (in the purifying, analogously, of Ivan the Terrible's purging police, the *Oprichniki*, kissing kin of the KKK). More than that, by the renunciation of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin it emphasized the determination of leaders that their revolution must be final, that further revolutions, being unprogressive and unnecessary, should never menace the status quo.

In organizing his study to follow these periods chronologically Mr. Struve has encountered problems not easy to solve. Where politics is so inextricably woven into literature it is hard to conceive of any other structure that might give more lucidity to his examinations. As presented here, his account, while stressing the tragedy of state control over the artist, gives in many brief essays diffused interpretations of writers and writing, which seldom indicate more than their general qualities. With frequent awkwardness the critique of a single author may be split into three sections, separated by a hundred or more pages devoted to politics, other authors, and summaries of their work. Soviet drama is granted such slight attention that it almost does not figure in the book, though it must be noted that the field is not abundant.

Aside from such reservations, Mr. Struve's unprejudiced study is of great value as a work of historical reference, especially for its analyses of the impact of politics on literature and of the battles of the critics and theorists; and for the long bibliography, including an all but complete book list of Soviet writing translated into English.

HUBERT CREEKMORE

The Meaning of Democracy

PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. By Yves R. Simon. The University of Chicago Press. $3.50.

THIS is the second volume of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation's series devoted to the "basic principles on which democracy rests." The author, formerly professor of philosophy at Notre Dame, is now professor of the philosophy of social thought at the University of Chicago. The book admirably reflects the virtues and defects both of Professor Simon's specialty and of the intellectual trend of the University of Chicago—once described wittily as a Baptist University where Jewish professors teach Catholic theology to Protestant students.

"Philosophy of Democratic Government" is a treatise on the meaning of

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democracy by a Catholic liberal, or, to be more precise, by a liberal mind operating in the Catholic tradition. As such, it is certainly a welcome addition to American political literature. It should help to dispel some of the unease which secular democrats feel vis-à-vis Catholic thought and action.

For this is a book by a man of goodwill whose aims and orientation are fundamentally democratic. In his carefully reasoned chapters Professor Simon analyzes the meaning of authority, freedom, equality, the common good, sovereignty, majority rule, and so on, and his conclusions generally remain within a framework that would be acceptable to a Jefferson or a Madison. He refutes the idea, so often advanced by conservatives and fascists, that government is in itself a necessary evil, pointing out that it is inherently neither evil nor good but only a function of society designed for the common good. He firmly rejects the whole notion of paternal or élite rule as undemocratic and undesirable.

> If society [he writes] is ruled by an upper class—by an élite socially recognized, socially organized, having its own schools, its own books, its own leaders, its own manners—inevitably and in spite of all the wisdom used in the training of such an élite, rulers will not realize, except occasionally and in short-lived flashes, the suffering aspirations of the common man. . . . So far as the common man is concerned, government by this élite is government by outsiders.

Despite its many wise and pertinent comments on the nature of government, "Philosophy of Democratic Government" leaves one with a feeling of inadequacy. Its fine logical reasoning and its learned footnote quotations from such famous writers as Aristotle, Aquinas, and Maritain somehow do not compensate for the curious lack of reality which the book conveys. Possibly the whole subject is too immediate and too down-to-earth to lend itself easily to a cool, detached, philosophic approach. Possibly Professor Simon has not clarified in his own mind the audience for which his book is intended. Totalitarians, obviously, will not read it; democrats do not need to be persuaded of the generalized virtues of democracy. Finally, it seems to me, the book suffers from what Harold Lasswell calls "terms of ambiguous reference," which, while still conceivably acceptable in philosophic writings, are now beginning to be hopelessly out of date in the social sciences. The recent refinements of concepts in the social sciences, as well as the findings of anthropologists, social psychologists, sociologists, communication specialists, and the like, tend to put old-fashioned verbal theorizings about society in a position to be regarded as mere exercises of the imagination.

SAUL K. PADOVER

Books in Brief

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. Random House. $3.75. From one point of view this is no autobiography at all. An autobiography is "an account of a person's life written by himself," an "account" which ought to be precisely and economically organized, if not according to the terms of some genuine problem of thought or personality, at least according to a chronology of events. One thinks of Henry Adams or Lincoln Steffens. But Dr. Williams's book is nothing like this; indeed, there is a question whether or not it has any kind of organization. The reader will be hard pressed to derive from these pages an ordered idea of the author's life, and although Dr. Williams skirts the riddles of his own artistic temperament, he does not come close to a reason for the books he has written or the way he has written them. Instead, we have a collection of haphazard memories and opinions, jumbled together, mixed with bursts of anger and laughter, interspersed with literary lectures, medical discourses, studies of nature—in short, gossip. The result is probably more illuminating, and certainly more entertaining, than any formal biography could have been. One ends with a mixed view of the man, on one hand as citizen (physician, householder, member of the community), and on the other as artist (poet, editor, amateur actor, traveler). And one's response also is mixed—often delight, sometimes astonishment, occasionally disgust. This, one guesses, is exactly what Dr. Williams had in mind.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, SECTIONALIST. 1840-1850. By Charles M. Wiltse. Bobbs-Merrill. $6. The third and final volume of this excellent biography covers the last ten years of Calhoun's life—perhaps the most dramatic decade of American political history, opening with the inauguration of Harrison and closing with the great debate of March, 1850, when Calhoun, Clay and Webster met for the last time in an attempt, already too late, to find a common ground for the peaceable preservation of the

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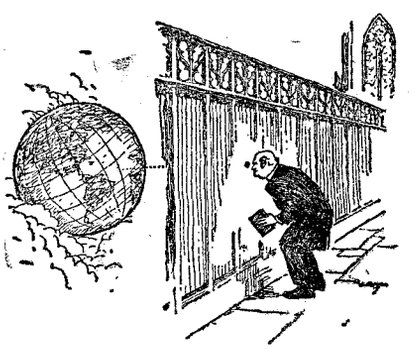

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Union. This is historical biography on a grand scale; every detail marshaled and organized to present a complete and definitive picture, but a picture in sober black and white lacking the color and zest of style that excites as well as informs.

Films

MANNY FARBER

EVERYTHING that kept the Broadway "Streetcar" from spinning off into ridiculous melodrama—everything thoughtful, muted, three-dimensional—has been raped, along with poor Blanche Dubois, in the Hollywood wood version, so that the drama takes place completely in the foreground—all clamor, climax, and Kazan. The movie opens characteristically with cabs zooming in an arc toward the camera and then cutting sharply into the New Orleans depot. With "impact" thus established, Warner Brothers takes us into the station for an artistic tip-off on what's to follow: a herd of crinolined bridesmaids jounce gaily off the Seaboard Limited while away to the side the shabby-genteel figure of Blanche (Vivien Leigh) emerges through a cloud of engine steam. A chirpy sailor interrupts his whistling long enough to give Miss Dubois directions to her sister's house. A streetcar named DESIRE, in white block letters a mile high, lunges in another vicious arc before our eyes, and there we are in Stanley Kowalski's serene, sexful, squalid little flat in the French Quarter. From here on, the story proceeds as Tennessee Williams first wrote it, except that all the frankest—and most crucial—dialogue has been excised and the last scene has been churned disastrously to satisfy the Johnson office but confound the spectator. These changes bothered me less than the fact that screen writer Williams thought he could turn his play into a movie by merely running the cast "outdoors" to a bowling alley or waterfront cafe whenever the dramatic structure of the original work permitted such a maneuver.

However, if the author surrendered without firing a shot, the actors and directors certainly did not. Marlon Brando, who on the stage gave a revolutionary head-on portrait of the rough-and-ready, second-generation American Joe, has upped the voltage of every eccentricity by several thousand watts. The performance is now more cinematic and flexible, but the addition of a lush physicality and a show-off's flamboyance to the character of Stanley makes him seem like a muscular version of a petulant, crazily egotistical homosexual. Brando, having fallen hard for the critics' idea that Stanley is simply animal and slob, now screams and postures and sweeps plates off the table with an ape-like emphasis that unfortunately becomes predictable.

As the ex-school-teacher-harlot-belle in this study of social-sexual disintegration, Miss Leigh injects a bitter-sweet fragrance and acrobatic excitement into the role, but the effects are freakish, too ambitious and endless. All this inchoate electricity helps sustain Kazan's record of directing nothing that is boring or insipid. The morning bed scene with wholesome Mrs. Kowalski (Kim Hunter) shows her as smug and contented as movie wives usually are in that situation. But Kazan gives the audience a rough shove with his candid view of the lady's legs widely spread under a disheveled sheet that never saw the inside of a laundry. Still, by activating all the characters to a pitch where they seem one comic-opera step away from lunacy Kazan has obliterated Williams's more delicate gradual revelation of the fact that Blanche is a rotten old Dixie apple fated for squashing by that raw, instinctual, 100 per cent industrial American, Stanley Kowalski.

Among the less arty but more enjoyable movies I have seen are "The Case Against O'Hara," "The Day the Earth Stood Still," and "The Red Badge of Courage."

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MANY years ago the Messrs. Lindsay and Crouse were responsible for a distressing concoction called "Strip for Action." It dealt sentimentally with the ambitions of a young girl who hoped to become a great strip-teaser like her mother and who, as I remember, thought it her duty to bring color into otherwise drab lives by the practice of this Dionysian art. No doubt the authors will feel that all this should be forgotten by now, but the point is simply that if they had remembered it themselves they might have reconsidered their determination to go ahead with "Remains to Be Seen" (Morosco Theater).

The heroine of this work is a vocalist with a barnstorming dance band; the hero is a timid male virgin who exercises his libido by playing the drums in the basement; both are involved, through accidents not necessary to specify, in the murder of a wealthy crusader for purity who conducts a lurid private life in a library composed exclusively of erotica. In all fairness it must be admitted that there is somewhat less stress on blowsy sentiment in this offering than in the previous one, but prospective customers should be warned that it is a good deal more like "Strip for Action" than like "Life with Father." Technically it is to be classed as a comedy-mystery-melodrama, which means that it is a collection of gags sometimes gruesome and sometimes mildly bawdy but never very funny.

The most distressing thing about such a production is the simple fact that the authors, who have previously demonstrated that they are men of talent and taste, cannot possibly have taken much pleasure in it themselves. It is obviously the product neither of joy nor even of exuberance but of desperate calculation, and the result, therefore, bears about the same relation to comedy as the deliberations in the smoke-filled room bear to statesmanship.

One can easily imagine the two authors at many a midnight session, the ashtrays piled high with cigarette butts and the ice cubes melting drearily in the empty glasses, reviewing the script once more and trying to galvanize it into some semblance of life. Perhaps the order of events is wrong. Perhaps the incident of the fiend with the poisoned syringe should come after rather than before the bit where the policeman who is trying to sneak out an obscene book in the dark gets tangled up with the hero's xylophone. Perhaps at some other moment the audience could be intrigued by a glimpse of the heroine in black-lace panties. Or have the possibilities of this last device been exhausted in the preceding act? If we could just think of

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one more gag, the whole thing couldn't help seeming funny. After all, people don't expect to be really amused at a comedy-mystery-melodrama. A sort of hysterical giggle is all that should even be aimed at. Let's try to make them giggle again before they have time to realize that there was no very good reason why they should have giggled before.

As assets—and it needs them—the production has Janis Paige, a young night-club singer shrewdly cast as a night-club singer, who is good-looking and who radiates a good deal of raucous charm; also Jackie Cooper, once a child actor in the "Our Gang" comedies and now, among other things, quite expert with the drums. Finally, it has Mr. Lindsay himself, who does very well with a stick of a role but must be wishing that he could be playing Father again. Now that *Variety* no longer publishes its box score, I can add, sadly but without being suspected of trying to improve my rating, that the audience reaction, though not all that it might be, seemed good enough to suggest that "Remains to Be Seen" may please some tastes.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE productions of "The Dybbuk" by the Neighborhood Playhouse and the Habima Theater in the mid-twenties have remained in my memory as two of the great occasions of that great period; and rereading Stark Young's comment on the Habima performance I find this statement: "We see now and again in the theater great décor, great acting, great drama, but only two or three times in our lives do we see a quality expressed down to the last element in the theater art, a perfect unity in idea, plot, and every other medium of theatrical expression, the music, the setting, make-ups, costumes, voice, gesture, and group movement." The Habima performance, for Young, was one of those rare instances of the unified, complete work of art; the operatic version now produced at the City Center is, for me, one of the too frequent instances of the opposite.

In this version, by its very nature, music was the major expressive element; and I did not hear one vocal phrase in David Tamkin's music that heightened the sense of the words, one detail of the huge clutter of orchestral complication that had any point in relation to the dramatic situation (except of course the dance music for the dancers). What the music did achieve in the first two acts was to obscure the words (those English words that are insisted on in the face of realities), and thus to deprive the play of its own inherent dramatic force for anyone who depended on them to know what was going on. In addition there was, in those first two acts, an oil-and-water mixture of realism and stylization in the production: the realistic setting, make-up, gesture, and movement of the first act in the synagogue; the grotesquely stylized make-up, gesture, and movement of the beggars, side by side with the nondescript make-up and movements of the other characters, in the second act. It was only in the third act that dramatic power was achieved —the power of the play itself, which it could exercise because for the climax Tamkin didn't even attempt vocal expression of the words but allowed them to be spoken and understood, and which was heightened by the superb dramatic performances of Mack Harrell and Patricia Neway and by the setting, make-up, and action in one effective realistic style—with the loud-speaker magnification of the voice of the unseen Robert Rounseville as the only disturbing detail.

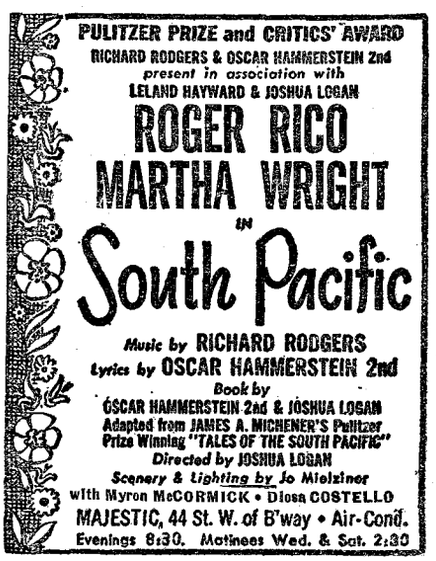
One of the greatest of Mozart's piano concertos, K.482, with its profusion of wonderfully beautiful and varied invention and its powerful slow movement, is on an Oceanic record with K.449, a lesser work, though one with occasional exquisite details. Badura-Skoda's playing in K.482 is fluent but without color and life in its phrasing; his work in K.449 is a little better. The Vienna Symphony plays well under Jonathan Sternberg's direction; and the recording allows its detail to be heard as clearly as the piano's. Violins sound edged, the piano dull; surfaces crackle.

Another of the greatest of the series, K.466, is on a Columbia record, with the dramatic power of its first movement superbly achieved by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy, but with Serkin's playing throughout lacking musical vitality and interest. The orchestra seems nearer than the piano, which sounds shallow; treble must be stepped up; surfaces are gritty. (The Decca record of this work offers a poor-sounding dubbing of an old recording of good playing by Kempff with the Dresden Philharmonic under Van Kempen.)

The solo part of the Horn Concerto K.447, a charming lesser work with its quota of wonderful dramatic modulations in the first movement, is played with his characteristic refinement of tone and phrasing by the great Mason Jones; and the National Gallery Orchestra plays well under Richard Bales. On the same WCFM record the lovely aria *Ruhe sanft* from "Zaide" and the less consequential Motet "Exultate, Jubilate" K.165 are sung by Barbara Troxell with a fresh soprano voice that is excessively tremulous in the first piece. Bass and treble must be stepped up; surfaces are not quiet.

An excellent performance of the Symphony K.504 ("Prague") by the Hamburg NWDR Symphony under Schmidt-Isserstadt is well reproduced, with treble stepped up, on a Decca record which also offers a poor-sounding dubbing of an old recording of the Rondo K.382 played by Kempff and the Dresden Philharmonic under Van Kempen. Surfaces sputter.

And a good performance of the Symphony K.385 ("Haffner") by the Turin Radio Symphony under Von Karajan is poorly reproduced on a Decca record which offers good repro-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duction of an overloaded performance of "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" by the Bavarian Radio Chamber Orchestra under Eugen Jochum. Surfaces are poor.

The Symphonies K.199 and 202, satisfactorily performed on an Oiseau Lyre record by the Bamberg Symphony under G. L. Jochum, I find uninteresting. The sound is compressed and a little sharp; surfaces are not quiet.

Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 43 and 50, well played on a Haydn Society record by the Danish State Radio Chamber Orchestra under Mogens Wöldike, I also find uninteresting. And I have never cared much for his Cello Concerto, which is played intelligently but with little tonal beauty by Maurice Gendron with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Sternberg. On the same Oceanic record is the Saint-Saëns concerto.

One of Bach's greatest instrumental works, his Concerto in D minor for harpsichord, exciting in the momentum of its endless invention, is played by Frank Pelleg with strings of the Israel Philharmonic under David Grünschlag. Pelleg's playing seems sensitive; but in this dubbing (with bad breaks) it doesn't make itself heard with clarity and force. The sound is compressed; surfaces crackle. On the same Period record Pelleg's playing of the uninteresting Four Duets for solo harpsichord has more force.

Bach's Concerto in D minor for three harpsichords, played without clarity on a Columbia record by Robert, Gaby, and Jean Casadesus with the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos, is one of his dullest works; and the French Suite No. 6, played fluently by Robert on the same record, isn't much more interesting.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Labor and Wage Controls

Dear Sirs: Although your recent article Wage Controls Are No Bargain, by Sid Lens of the A. F. of L. (issue of September 22), very well expressed some long overdue criticism about the wage-control program, I should like to make two comments on it.

First, it is utterly naive and unrealistic to ask the Wage Stabilization Board to follow a policy based on "humanitarian social criteria." As Mr. Lens notes, reduction of living standards is considered under the Economic Stabilization Program to be a positive gain. Wage controls, together with high taxes and prices, are deliberately designed to reduce the living standards of the American people in adjustment to the burden of a $70 billion military budget. This is the real object of the wage freeze, and to miss its war-economy foundation is to miss the basic point of the wage-control program. If the purpose were "humanitarian and social," there would be no wage-control program in the first place.

Secondly, I wonder how such an article could fail to mention the fact that official representatives of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. support and participate in this "no bargain" program for labor. The A. F. of L. and C. I. O. continue to underwrite this plan to reduce living standards on the utterly false premise that "excess purchasing power" is the cause of inflation. Isn't it about time some courageous writer acknowledged that from labor's viewpoint the United Electrical Workers' opposition to the wage freeze has considerable merit?

RUSS NIXON,
U. E. Washington Representative
New York

Are Vacations Bad?

Dear Sirs: I saw the editorial paragraph on page 163 of your September 1 issue referring to my comments about retirement plans and vacations. I rarely consider myself misquoted by reporters, but one or two words were omitted by the young man who picked up this talk which changed the sense of it considerably.

What I said was that *for some people* the intense desire for rest, a vacation, idleness, etc., represented a symptom of maladjustment in work satisfaction. You will see how this fits into the fragment quoted by you (and by the United Press).

I would not wish to appear as one opposed to any and all vacations for any and all people. As Bernard De Voto says in the current issue of *Harper's*,

> The United States contains millions of people who will drive from Hartford to Seattle and back by way of Los Angeles in three weeks, with a nine-year-old and a six-year-old in the rear seat, and at the end will be in practically as good condition as their car. . . . Three weeks at a popular summer resort are hardly more destructive to their health and morale than divorce, bankruptcy, or a nervous breakdown; they take the experience in their stride, shrug it off, and in a few months are completely restored.

Seriously, I was attempting to present the fact that most people don't know how to use leisure time. A friend of a friend of mine used to get up at 5 a.m. on Sunday in order to have a longer day in which to loaf. Loafing may have a limited value for invalids; I can't see any value in it for healthy people. In Chautauqua, where I made these remarks, there are thousands of people from all walks of life spending their vacation time trying to learn new things about China, economics, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Exigetics, Lepidoptera, and Degas. I was trying to encourage them. I realize that there are other people who would rather play with marbles, golf balls, or worms.

In regard to forced retirement at sixty-five, I said nothing about unions. I was thinking about the executives and others who are automatically retired in order that younger men may take their jobs. However good this may be for the business organization, I said, it is not an unmitigated blessing for the persons discharged because their greatest satisfactions have probably been in the work which they are now no longer permitted to do. This tends to increase problems of old-age adjustment which are already great enough. Older people cannot easily shift their techniques of working, and working is a psychological necessity for all of us.

KARL A. MENNINGER, M.D.
Topeka, Kansas

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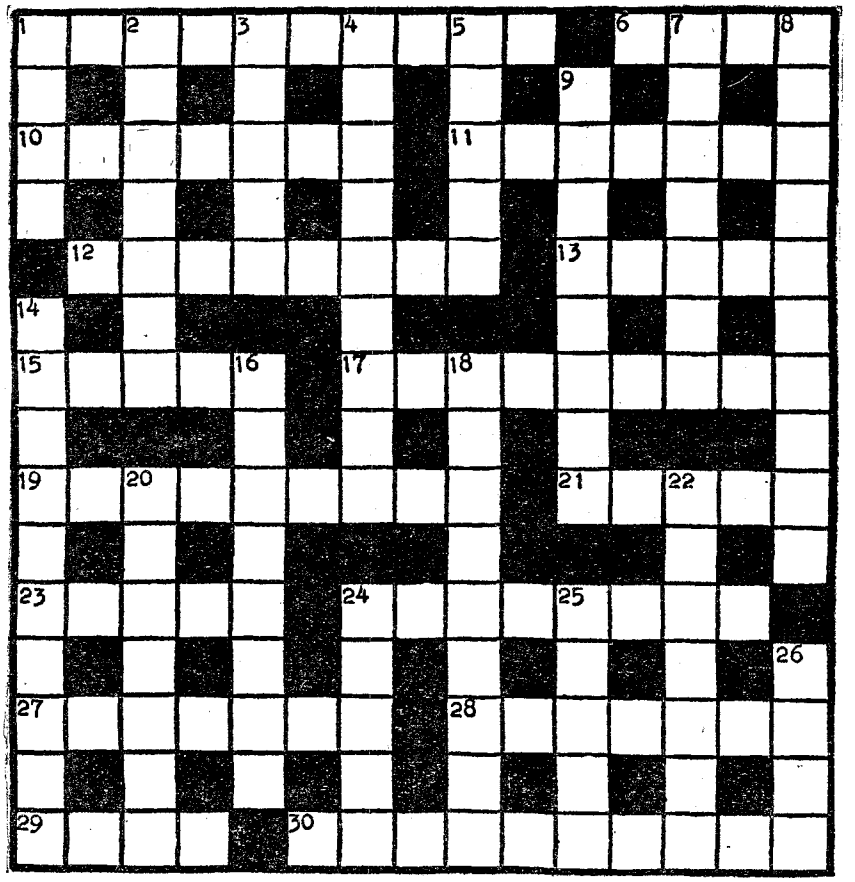
Crossword Puzzle No. 435

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Bunker's neighbor raises a heap of it. (6, 4)
6 One's acquaintances or friends. (4)
10 A-1 meringue? (7)
11 Ingrave with acid solution. (7)
12 Complies with arguments. (8)
13 Find yours in 21. (5)
15 Looks like Little Albert would never be called "Skinny"! (5)
17 Proving that flirting is little more than friendly association. (9)
19 You need it from the first to last. (9)
21 This ground could be 15 to you. (5)
23 X, not off the joint! (5)
24 Fido's dinner? (4, 4)
27 It'll make a G. I. yell quickly enough! (7)
28 Man is, it proves, a faulty follower of a doctrine. (7)
29 See 5 down.
30 Only a dude? That's good enough! (4, 2, 4)

DOWN

1 Denizens of night clubs. (4)
2 Paradoxically, it's a heroic act to take advantage of others. (7)
3 An urge for fund-raising. (5)
4 Worn out like they used to think a broom might be. (9)
5 and 29 across. The lad referred to in 15 does, but they're built for two. (4, 5)
7 Fix, as the wheat farmer's so rich. (7)
8 The best are well broken when it comes to such an animal. (10)
9 The sirens were but Ulysses didn't respond. (8)
14 Highfalutin "do." (10)
16 Their offices are necessary if you want to sound well. (8)
18 It might be termed falsehood in an old caroler. (3, 2, 4)
20 Likely to fill an aching void. (7)
22 Would one be barely human? (7)
24 A buoy gets wrecked in the water. (5)
25 Oceans might be full of water. (5)
26 Certainly not an early riser with this and others. (2, 2)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 434

ACROSS:—1, 21 down, 9 LITTLE PITCHERS HAVE BIG EARS; 10 CLIPPER; 11 AT LAST; 12 ALL IN ALL; 14 GROVELS; 15 PLEAD; 17 NASHE; 19 LOLLARD; 21 HOISTING; 23 STOWED; 25 VERDANT; 26 TRIFLED; 27 TWO-LANE HIGHWAY.

DOWN:—1 LIBRARIAN; 2 TAGALOG; 3 LOADSTONE; 4 and 8 PASTORAL; 5 TICKLISHLY; 6 HAITI; 7 REPLACE; 13 BEDLINGTON; 15 PLAYTHING; 16 DECIDEDLY; 18 SKID ROW; 20 DEWCLAW; 22 TRAIL; 24 PTAH.

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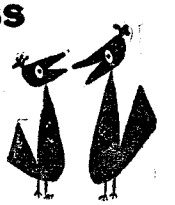

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